

• YOUNG INDIA

Vol. III

NOVEMBER, 1920

No. 11

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India's Verdict

This Congress is of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive, non-violent, non-cooperation (with the British Government of India) until India's wrongs are righted and *Swarajya* (National Self-government) is established.

(Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its special session in Calcutta, September, 1920.)

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION,
ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS
OF AUGUST 21, 1922.

On "Young India," published monthly at New York, N. Y., for Gazette,
1922.

County of New York, | m.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared D. S. Virata Rao, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the "Young India," and that the following is to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, and of a daily paper, the circulation, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above affidavit, rendered by the Act of August 21, 1922, witnessed under the date and place and signatures, printed on the reverse of this affidavit.

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Managing Editor—Dr. S. S. Hastings, 1400 Broadway, New York City.

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During the six months preceding the date shown above—Other information supplied from duly publication only:

D. S. VIRATA RAO

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 15th day of October, 1922.

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BATHING CHAT AT BURGESS

Photograph by Ananda Coomaraswamy

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Editorial Notes

The Wealth of Ancient India

The Indian wealth of ancient India has been the topic of historians for many years now. Says Thoreau, in his "Description of Ancient India":

"From the Pyramids looked down upon the valley of the Nile, when Greece and Italy, these cradles of European civilization, nursed only the temrs of the wilderness, India was a nest of wealth and grandeur. A busy population had covered the land with the works of industry, rich crops of the most varied production of nature amply rewarded the toil of the husbandmen. Skilled artisans converted the rude products of the soil into fabrics of unrivaled delicacy and beauty; architects and sculptors pitied to consecrating works, the ability of which we see not, in most instances, been overpassed by the evolution of thousands of years. . . . The ancient state of India must have been one of extraordinary magnificence."

Contrast this picture drawn by an English historian with that of poverty-stricken, starving India today, after 100 years of British rule. Mr. T. N. Kydman, an Englishman who knows India thoroughly, and who has speak the truth, declares:

"Even as we look on, India is be-

coming poorer and poorer. The life blood of the great maritime under our British rule is dried up, yet our faster, older ones."

Rural Illiteracy in India

A Commission appointed some time ago by the leading Christian Missionary Societies of India to study the needs of the country for better educational facilities has just made its report under the head of "Village Education in India." The report confirms the information received from so many other sources of the shameful lack of schools and the appalling illiteracy found almost everywhere, and which the British government, which owns the resources of the country for its own military and imperialistic ends, refuses to notice. The report informs us that the number of literates in rural India generally is only one in ten in the case of men and one in a hundred in the case of women, that only 3.23 per cent. of the population is at school and that the schools are so poor and the school attendance per cent. is so short that two out of five of the children who do pass through the schools remain non-literate within five years of their promotion withdrawn. Light is thrown upon the "value of British rule" when we con-

trust the state of things with what we find in some of the native states, where the "white guardian of the breed" is not present. For example, in the native state of Baroda, which manages its own affairs, we find elementary education universal, free, and compulsory both for boys and girls, with more than 80 per cent of the boys of school-going age, and 60 per cent of the girls actually under instruction.

India and the Philippines

In the Philippines, under American rule, seventy per cent (700 in a thousand) of the population above ten years of age can read and write. In India under British rule 10% per cent of the men (185 in a thousand) and one per cent of the women (one in a thousand) can read and write. Yet Indian civilization is thousands of years older than that of the Philippines, though Indian people are much the more intelligent race, and England has had 300 years to build up education in India, whereas the United States has had only a little more than twenty years to work in the Philippines.

"Look here, when the potter, and in this?"

"Equality of Treatment!"¹²

It was recently announced by the Indian Government that there were 254 women in the Indian medical service, but 68 of these would be allowed to be filled by Indians, and 186 be reserved for Englishmen. Also, that 70 places were to be filled in the Indian Public Works Department of

the Central Service, one to three of which were open for Indians, all the rest—25 being reserved for Englishmen. There were plenty of thoroughly trained Indian men to fill all the places, but the Englishmen snared these, therefore to the foreigners they must go.

How do these facts compare with the promise made by Queen Victoria, when she was proclaimed Empress of India, that forever thereafter there should be in her Indian domain perfect equality of treatment for Englishmen and Indians?

Women in Indian Politics

One of the most encouraging features of Indian activities is that of the awakening of its women. In much of the news that comes from India we see a study of the presence of women, and their participation in political, social and other gatherings. A special feature of the Indian National Congress, held in September last, was the large number of women present. Many of the women delegates had come from distant provinces to the Congress, and among the number present were Muhammadan, as well as Hindu ladies. If it is remembered that the Muhammadan women has, by age-long traditions and customs, kept herself apart from all worldly activities, it will be realized what a transformation is taking place in India.

Another notable exhibition of the changing attitude of Hindu women to political life was made recently by the women of the Bombay Presidency who are reported to have gathered together in Bombay, day to protest against the

new disqualifications in the Municipal Councils of the Bombay Legislature. The meeting was attended by representatives from a dozen women's organizations, and numbered among its representatives women from all castes and creeds. The necessity for women on the Councils was most emphatically voted, and a resolution passed at the conclusion of the meeting, urging the government to take steps for the enfranchisement of women in the provinces.

No Monuments for Indians!

We are told that while all other soldiers who fought for the rule of the Allies in France—the Americans, the English, the Scots, the Welsh, the Irish, the Canadians, the South Africans, the Australians, the New Zealanders—are having monuments erected in their honor, Indian soldiers who were the first to arrive, at my foreign country, and who fought with a fervor surpassed by no other troops, are being left unthanked.

India's Discontent!

Even if the British people regarded India as too weak, or too closely guarded or too cowardly, to rebel (an assumption which some day they may find to be a mistake), do they not know that her angry discontent is being fanned under England's heel will be a constant irritation, and an inciting one, to other powers such as Russia, Germany, Japan, Afghanistan, America, or China to take India's side, to encourage revolt, to smuggle arms into her territories, and thus wrench her from British's power?

Great Britain may conquer India by her guns for a little while, but not for long. By no possibility can India's discontent with the British Empire be reigned for longer than a very short period—and that a period of anxiety, turmoil and bloodshed—except by making her content. This is an easier as death—that India can be made content by nothing less than self-government.

British Rule and Prussian

Dr. Henry Campbell-Bannerman once said:

"Good government is an inheritance for all governments. The strength of a nation is a nation, reading all that is noble and worthy, and fearing all that is evil and ignoble. I am prepared to place British superiority by comparing that British rule is better than Prussian or Russian rule, but at the same time I never imagined my countrymen that Britain has escaped to Prussia and Russia methods in the Government of India."

If Dr. Campbell-Bannerman had lived a little longer and seen the oppression imposed on India since the Great War, and especially the horrible atrocities perpetrated on innocent people in the Punjab in 1919, would he have dared to say that British overrule is better than that on Prussia or Russia?

"Men and Dogs!"

Every intelligent student of history, of education, or of psychology understands that there can be no helpful relations between parents and children, or between teachers and pupils, or be-

ious governments and those governed rules there is mutual regard and sympathy. How is it in India? Is there sympathy between the rulers and the ruled? We have the authority of Goldwin Smith for the statement that Lord Lytton, a Governor General of India, declared that there is more of a bond between men and dogs in India than there is between Englishmen and the Indian people.

A New Voice for India

We are glad to welcome into the field another vigorous helper in the cause of India's freedom, namely, The Indianist Hindu, a new monthly published by the Hindoo Gadar Party of San Francisco, California. The editor is Mr. Suresh Karr and his business manager is Mr. Balbir Singh. The form and general appearance of the magazine are very striking and the stories are thoroughly true. The first two numbers (September and October) are before us as we write. There cannot be too many voices telling the American people how the truth about India and setting forth the justice of her struggle for freedom. We wish the leaders of this new monthly had chosen to use the name India instead of Hindu, because the former name is so much better known in the country. However, the name they employ may win its way in time. We wish the new venture the largest possible usefulness.

Dr. Tagore in America

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore who for some time has been in England, has

just arrived in the country where he is to remain until March next, delivering lectures principally upon Indian literature and philosophy. He will also explain more fully than has yet been done, his views for an Indian University and an exchange of professors and students between India and America. He arrived at this distinguished post, educator and thinker a most cordial greeting. In our next issue we hope to give our readers more matter from his pen. His first lecture in this country is to be delivered at Brooklyn, N. Y., on November 14, subject: "The Missing of the East and the West."

YOUNG INDIA 1408 BROADWAY NEW YORK

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The Calcutta Congress

The Special Session of the Indian National Congress, held in Calcutta in September, impressed us members and us audience very much on the entire history of the Congress, unless it were that held last December in Amritsar, when the Punjab horrors were fresh in the minds of everybody. The number of registered delegates rose to nearly six thousand, and the number of people present to hear the presidential address and the more important discussions was from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand. The question before the Congress of all commanding importance was that of self-government according to the plan proposed some months ago by Mr. M. K. Gandhi. There was considerable opposition to this plan at the session's commencement, and in the main Congress it was opposed by a number of men of influence, notably by Mr. M. M. Mitra, Mr. C. B. Das and Mr. H. C. Pal. However, numbers of leaders of quite equal prominence in favor of it and among the delegates the sentiment in favor of it was very strong. The earliest telegraphic report from the Congress, as we mentioned in our last issue, gave the vote on the plan as very small and the majority in the favor of independence, namely, 146 to 125. But this was entirely misleading. The final vote was not taken until a late session, when everybody was tired and many had gone home. It stood for Mr. Gandhi's resolution, 873, for amendment 873. On the other provinces of India, the vote at home, the two opposed were

Bengal and the Central Provinces. Strong efforts were made to induce Mr. Gandhi to compromise, but he stood firm to the end and the large majority of the rank and file stood firmly with him.

The unity of sentiment between the Hindus and the Moslems was as perfect as in Amritsar. This was shown not only in the Congress itself, but also by the fact that the non-cooperative resolution, as moved by Mr. Gandhi in this Congress, was unanimously adopted by the All-India Muslim League which sat in the Calcutta Town Hall and also by the All-India Khilafat Conference.

Mr. Lala Rustomji, the President elect of the Congress, came to Calcutta, two days before the opening of the session, accompanied from his home in Lahore, a division miles away, by a large and influential delegation. At Lahore, where he took the train, and at every station on the route there were great crowds with flags and banners and displays of mottoes showing the honor in which he is everywhere held, and the profound interest of the people everywhere in the Congress and its fight for India's freedom. In Calcutta the railway station was decorated and a number of thousands of people awaited his arrival. A long procession was formed by mounted volunteers, with Mr. Das at its head, in an open carriage drawn by eight horses. With music and banners the procession moved through principal streets and under triumphal arches.

The Presidential Address

Mr. Rau in his opening address as President of the Congress spoke highly of Mr. Tilak, and pointed out the loss the country had suffered in his death. Taking up the subject of the Punjab disturbances, he gave particular attention to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the then governor of the Province, whom he regarded as the author of the Rowlayat Act and the responsible author of the atrocities. He said:

"From the very moment the Michael O'Dwyer regime of the Province he in fact left his office of government which was Province in possession, Province is ours and Province in occupation. For the long years he occupied himself in working out his stand and carrying out his plan. Ever since he took charge of the Province the working of the political machinery was his principal aim.

INDICTMENT OF O'DWYER

(1) I charge him with having deliberately tampered with the policy of divide and rule by secretly spirit the Mohammedans from the Hindus and both from the Sikhs.

(2) I charge him with having created fresh political divisions between the people of the Province by drawing purely artificial and arbitrary distinctions between spiritual and educated classes and between the rural and urban populations and creating unhealthy rivalry between them.

(3) I charge him with having made illegal use of the processes of law and of his authority for recruiting, paymaster, and for settling contributions for the War Loan and other war funds.

(4) I charge him with having deliberately deceived the Government of India as to the necessity of Martial Law.

(5) I charge him with having deliberately manipulated the continuance of Martial Law for vindictive and punitive purposes.

(6) These are serious charges, and I

bring them with all the weight of the office in which you have invested me with enormous resources of the country. I shall bring all Inquiry and I declare before God and you that my Province and my people will not be satisfied until such an enquiry has been made."

The President then strengthened his case by numerous questions from the Minority Report of the Rowlayat Committee and concluded this part of the address by stating in brief what India wants:

(a) "My main complaint and complaint and accusation and condemnation of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and of possible his protection and punishment. We also want that an open Inquiry be held into the methods adopted by Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the handling of refugees and in regarding the treated and our funds. (b) We want equal protection and punishment of the Bostons, Johnsons, O'Briens and others, who were the active agents in perpetrating the horrors. (c) We want the release of the remaining Martial Law prisoners and all the men that are still holding in jail under accusations of the Special Tribunal and the Martial Law Courts. (d) We insist that all the men incurred by the people of the Province by the regulars of the troops and the officials in the course of the Martial Law administration be made good and that all justice done and justice imposed and restored to innocent and tortured. (e) We further resolve that an open Inquiry be held into the charges of bribery that have been made by the witnesses before the Congress Committee against Police of force. If the case which the British Cabinet has taken of General Dyer's action and of the conduct of the Martial Law administration is correct (and it is much before reading), then I submit the last that Lord Chelmsford can do with honor to himself is to return to the high office. The Viceroy and Mysore Cabinet have been policy of gross dereliction of duty in failing to check the

regulations of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and in failing to assert the power of control which law and tradition vested in them. They let the people of the Province suffer under the impression that there was no one to hear their voice. Under the circumstances the country's demand for the recall of the Viceroy seems to be just and proper."

HINDU-MUHAMMADAN UNITY

The President then dealt with the Muslim question. He pointed out that there was perfect neutrality between Mohammedans of India on the religious merits of the question, and it was not for the Hindus or any other communities to go into the religious merits of the question. It was a matter for the Mohammedans to decide, and they have decided it.

"We of the Indian National Congress," he said, "have always believed that the belief of Indian Moslems cannot be built up on any article except upon the foundation of a clear understanding between the two communities."

The general of Mohammedan unity has already impressed the Hindus and subjects of many an Indian who has taken to dispute. It has obtained many a strong patron at Amritsar and other places.

Before we consider the Non-cooperation, let us start with Co-operation. Co-operation of the people with the Government is based on one of the two assumptions, either that the Government represents them, or that the Government is there to protect their interests. Now in India the last of these assumptions has not held good. The second is unhappy in the sense of being deprived of power of self-government. Co-operation with Government, again, is of two kinds, one voluntary to law and, therefore, compulsory, for example the payment of taxes, or serving the order under consideration, the other is voluntary, for example accepting Government service or joining the Congress and so on. In the case of the former, every refusal is punishable. As for the latter,

there again you have to distinguish between co-operation which is sincerely for the country's benefit and that which is put on. Co-operation determined solely or mainly by economic considerations can only be refused, if we can find economic alternatives. Co-operation is based by considerations of honor and dignity can be easily refused if the mentality of the people regarding honor and integrity can be changed. Last, but not least in the same class you may consider competition, which gives you opportunities of serving your country by sharing the methods of power and privilege from the world.

Co-operation or refusal of it, then, must be judged by (a) its obligation or voluntary nature, (b) by its economic consequences, (c) by its inherent moralities, and (d) by its utility as a weapon of attack or defense.

Co-operation which is based on which makes you feel a sort of a formal bourgeoisie or which leaves you no space but in goes against to their interests stands on an entirely different footing from one which is sincerely for the benefit of the country. Sincere co-operation, which is based by non-cooperation necessarily stands on a different footing from the one which is entirely or mainly based on considerations of honor and dignity. Then again you must consider if your refusal of co-operation prevents the said desire to make an immediate effective expression on the Government or forces the motives of hindering the people to take their destiny in their own hands.

These, then, are the bases involved in the great question of Non-cooperation."

The President then made reference to the great awakening of the masses in the country. Since he landed in India six months previously he had been in close touch with the masses of his countrymen. Their political awakening exceeded his wildest expectation. In his opinion the Congress leaders adopted they must carry the

masses with them. He did not share the belief that the masses were "tacit." The general public, including the masses, are so too used to be trifled with. The masses must feel that the Congress is working for them. In their present mood they demand more than passing of resolutions.

Concluding, the President said:

"We talk much of liberals in politics. I have seen much of so-called Liberals in England and elsewhere, and in Japan. There are some liberals who are essentially blotted out in the decoration of militarism and imperialism. It is more or less part of their psychology with them. But those who talk in the press, freedom of those who, however liberal, in other respects, are very much in the service of imperialism. The so-called Parliamentarian party, as the People's arena might be styled in days of old, of those men are still left, on that score. The Imperialist Liberals in the House of Commons with a few noble exceptions, showed no sympathy for the sufferings of the Provincials, in spite of the dis-

trust feelings of men like Mr. T. J. Pickett, Colonel Wolseley and Mr. Ben Lyon. Liberals in the House of Lords were among the most violent supporters of the military rule. It was a right for the party to see Chamber, Milner and Birrell, advocating for arbitration, and Lords Asquith and MacDonald supporting brutalities.

Even so many friends as you can have, cannot extricate us unless we have been fully in yourselves and yourselves alone.

Our success will be determined by the action of our representatives, the spirit of self-sacrifice in the leaders, the spirit of self-sacrifice in the party and the, the power to lead rightly and to be led by righteous men. The time has come when we must decide between the freedom of India and us and the life of independence and comparative ease which is offered to a few of us under the present system. If we could let the former we could be prepared for the consequences. But if we allow the latter we can not say if we do not get the former. That is the real issue before you and I know I can leave this house with confidence in your hands.

Mr. B. Chakravarthi's Speech

In the course of his address of welcome to the Congress delegates, Mr. Chakravarthi made the following remarks:

"I have never had much faith in the moral purity about the British subjects born in the course of a dozen districts, and now with the example of the British Government itself before my eyes, I have lost all that. The British have been corrupted just as the British were corrupted by the English. That is just as bad as any north-European one, exploiting our money power, and exploiting our resources, animal resources. Then the history of British corruption can be easily written. The English care for purposes of exploitation, they have stayed here for purposes of

exploitation. Even so the situation was even before the war, it has become immensely greater today, except in the geographical distribution caused by the war in the various countries of the whole world. The British subjects are developing various means to accumulate wealth and power. For my part of the people of the stronger within our area, they have encouragement and when we find that the English and certain British Government, are ready to impose upon us, the exploitation, just as before, we are still there, where is it, and what is its purpose to do in, what are we to do? Whatever remedy may be suggested must be a remedy of a permanent character. One such remedy surely is an effective reliance in defence our economic welfare and the longing of the people.

YOUNG INDIA

Congress Resolutions

Two notable resolutions were passed at the Congress session, one dealing with the Punjab reports and the other with the "non-cooperation" plan.

In the first resolution was expressed the thanks of the Congress to the Punjab Enquiry Committee, which submitted its report in April last, and the appreciation of the Congress of "the great industry and political care" of the investigating Committee. "Deep and bitter disappointments" was expressed, however, at the drift and turn of the Majority Report of the Punjab Committee, which report was characterized by the Congress as "unjust with bias and prejudice, and regarded as 'unscrupulous and unreliable,'" and concluded with the remark, "The British cabinet, in their failure to take adequate action (on the Punjab situation) have forfeited the confidence of the people of India."

The "Non-cooperation" resolution follows:

In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and Imperial Governments have apparently failed in their duty towards the Moslemans of India and the Prime Minister has deliberately rejected the peaceful way given to them, and that on the duty of every Moslem Indian on every legitimate manner to assist the Moslemans brother in his attempt to recover the Moslem authority that has overthrown him, and in view of the fact that, in the order of the events of the April of 1919, both the said Governments have openly neglected or failed to protect the Moslem people of the Punjab and punish others guilty of treachery and treacherous behaviour towards them and have countenanced Sir Edward Gwyer, who placed himself directly or indirectly in opposition for most of the official areas, and was called to the indifference of the people placed under his command, and that the details in the House of Commons, and especially in the House of Lords, betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India and showed without regard of the systematic persecutions and brutalities adopted in the Punjab, and that the latest Viceroy's pronouncement is proof of entire absence of recognition in the nature of the Khilafat and the Punjab, the division of opinion that there can be no reconciliation in India without reduction of the few Moslemans among us and that the only effectual course to vindicate our

ideal Asia and to prevent a repetition of similar events in future in the sub-continent of Bechtia (National Self-government).

The Congress is further of opinion that there is no reason left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive, non-violent Non-cooperation until the said wrongs are righted and Bechtia is re-established.

And onwards on a progressive should be made by the classes who have hitherto been regarded as unrepresented public opinion, and onwards as Government can withdraw its power through ideas and human influence on the people, through advice instilled by it, through its law courts and its legislative Councils, and research as it is desirable, in the present state of the government, to take the initiative and try to call for the least services compatible with the abdication of the desired effect, the Congress sincerely wishes.

(a) Recovery of civil and monetary rights and participation of nominated public in local bodies.

(b) Retired or retired Government bodies, districts, and other official and semi-official functions held by the Government officials or on their basis.

(c) Gradual withdrawal of soldiers from colonial and military areas, which are controlled by Government, and, in

place of each schools and colleges, establishment of national schools and colleges in the various provinces.

(4) *General Report of British courts by lawyers and litigants and amendment of private arbitration courts by them for the settlement of private disputes.*

(5) *Reform of the post of the collector, district, and inferior courts to offer them as seats for courts in Homeopathic.*

(6) *Withdrawal by members of their constituencies for election to the reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress offer offer himself for election.*

(7) *Report of foreign goods*

and *banishment of the Non-cooperative movement has been submitted to a meeting*

use of discipline and self-sacrifice, with-
out which no nation can make real
progress, and I consider as an opportunity
should be given in the first stage
of Non-cooperation to every man, man
and child for such discipline and
self-sacrifice. This Congress adverse
adoption of Standard (dissemination of
national publications) as pure poison on a
real scale, and compared to the existing
state of India with Independence spiritual
and material as not representative such
brutal press and sufficient shield for the
implementation of the nation and our
ability to do so in the long term to attain
this Congress adverse immediately
implementation of further noncooperation on a
large scale, the mass of young people
exploding in every home, and jeopardizing
on the part of millions of the members
who have abandoned their schools
and universities calling for work of no
importance.

Mr. Gandhi's Speech

The most notable speech in the discussion on the Non-cooperative Resolution was made by Mr. Bipin B. E. Gandhi, who, as we have elsewhere observed, carried the Congress by a large majority. The speech is summarized below.

"I am most glad to see of the great responsibility resting on my shoulders in putting this resolution before this great house. I am aware that the decision of the resolution will make a definite change in the policy that the country has hitherto adopted for the vindication of its rights and honor. I am aware that a large number of our respected leaders, who have given their time and energies in a manner which it has not been my privilege to render in the association, are ranged against me. I am fully aware that they feel a sense of duty that they must resist this attempt to revolutionize the policy of the country at practically any cost. Having
over all these difficulties, realizing my

responsibility, giving all respect, I am grateful to the leaders of the country, namely, the drawing of the scroll, India does not possess the scroll. It had possessed the scroll. I know India would not have consented to this project of Non-cooperation. Even if you may be weak judges from according basis by methods of violence, you want this Independence struggle. Discipline and self-sacrifice will still be necessary. I have not yet known of any country, I have not yet known of any country which a discipline among capable of dying, every one of them at their post. If we want to give justice both in areas to the British Government, to the English nation or to the combined power of Europe, we shall have to train ourselves in discipline and self-sacrifice. It is to that stage I am anxious to bring my country.

We nation subjected to another nation can possibly escape the go to a place in India and responsibilities that are requiring places on us. Immediately the nation resists violently that any gift that comes from the conqueror is not for the benefit of the conqueror, but primarily for the benefit of the conquered.

Non-cooperation is an impedi-
ment. I have learned by bitter ex-
perience, through a period of thirty years,
one supreme lesson, namely, to
deserve my honor, earned it and con-
vert it to irretrievable power.

The Muslims of India submit to me
however, if they do not violate the
honor of Khilafat (Imamah) head of
Muhammadanism at any cost. The Pan-
jabis has been cruelly and barbarously treated. How to Congress to restore
the honor of the People and justify the
existence of it cannot force persons
from different lands and their
different purposes, before reaching a single
goal, however rich it may be. From these
blasted lands, if there is sufficient
opposition in the country in my
opinion, I make bold to say that you can
gain victory in your goal. The progressive
stages have been lost, but regard
being had to the condition of the mass

Though there was another way before
the country instead of Non-cooperation,
namely, the drawing of the scroll, India
does not possess the scroll. It had
possessed the scroll. I know India would
not have consented to this project of Non-
cooperation. Even if you may be weak
judges from according basis by methods
of violence, you want this Independence
struggle. Discipline and self-sacrifice
will still be necessary. I have not
yet known of any country, I have not
yet known of any country which a discipline

among capable of dying, every
one of them at their post. This is the
most fundamental condition of our
success in our struggle for national
independence whether within the Empire or
without. That is my position."

Referring to details of the program,
he said,

"I hold very, rather seriously between
Hindus and Muslims and entirely re-
serves to the British Government. If I
have to make a choice between that
way and British Government, I will
choose my and simpler British con-
dition. If I have the choice of the
honor of the People and, therefore, of
India and I have to choose between these
various others, namely, option of
any drawing of my abilities, along up
of events and therefore, temporary dis-
order and disorder and of population
anarchy and of the British invasion, I will choose the former, and unless you
have the right between freedom and
independence in you in order to conduct the
cause of India, whether you are a Mu-
hammadan, and the honor of
the Empire, then you will necessarily
accept my presentation."

Referring to the imports of Canada
(which will be explained under the
new Government of India Act), he said—

"If the honor in dispute, it will have
to decide upon this one clause last.
This is the burning issue of the day.
Do or does not the country want to
join Canada through the constitution or
without the constitution. I am at this
time through the means it is possible
to gain freedom. (Congress adopted reso-
lution, Feb. 26). In taking different
the British Government's present hold
of office and if we are aware that
the British Government is totally un-
popular, then can you possibly touch
these subjects and believe that they will
lead to success, rather than lead to the
lightening of the load of the British
Government on India?

In this, give the matter your serious
consideration and do not be swayed by

any personality, however great. I do not claim any infallibility for my program. Laborious industry, great thought helped my program and influenced it.

Non-Cooperation Work Begun

When the Congress was over Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues had no time in getting to work on practical plans for carrying out the Non-cooperation resolution of the Congress. A Committee consisting of Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and Mr. Patel issued a draft of resolutions regarding the carrying out of the policy. The Committee urged that a delegation of leading non-cooperators should go to the holders of local and honorary offices from the government and urge them to abandon the same, that non-cooperators should visit candidates for the proposed government Councils and urge them not to stand, and that voters should be asked to sign a declaration that under present conditions they do not wish representation, and that law-

abiding determination to refuse that program, who practice are my qualifications which I consent to your consideration."

you should suspend their practice in connection with government courts, and organize arbitration courts for the private settlement of disputes. Parents should be urged to withdraw their children from the government schools, and educate them privately. Schools receiving state aid should refuse to receive it any longer. Young men likely to volunteer for service in the army for any part of it, the former Turkish Corps should have the practice explained to them and should be discouraged from enlisting. The Committee also urged that efforts be made everywhere to revive hand spinning and hand weaving in India, and that Second Peshawar must be established for the purpose of making effective the policy of non-cooperation.

Latest Light From India

Developments in the political situation in India today are most interesting and significant. From the many reports that have been received here about the progress of the non-cooperative movement it is evident that the general status in India is growing daily. The Chicago Tribune recently sent a correspondent to India, to investigate conditions there and his telegraphic reports are astounding. Revision of the complete machinery shows that India is undergoing

through the reports now, the one potent fact, that Indian unrest is more widespread and significant than ever before and that the whole foundation of British rule in India is *utterly unstable*.

Analyzing the present labor situation, the correspondent writes:

"Strikes are now on in practically every Indian city. Bloody strikes plunged into darkness through a series of gas workers. Post office and telegraph employees are also out. In Calcutta,

1,500 street car men struck work, won all demands, and returned to work. To the north of the city native tea-pickers have figured in many revolts. Buildings have been burned and big-bellied attacked. In Madras, there are now 27 labor unions with 60,000 members. Two years ago there was not an effective labor organization in all India."

The correspondent goes but a partial list of India's ills:

"Although appearing as pure economic strikes," he continues, "they have a deep political meaning as a part of the general unrest and they are a popular outlet against the political as well as economic conditions."

It is not only refreshingly that great dissatisfaction is being evidenced, the reporter declares.

The whole foundation of British rule in India and the whole present day structure of Indian life is being shaken by white heat resistance—political, social, economic, industrial, religious and artistic revolutions. Everything is changing. At present all these revolutions are centered along political lines, but once that is settled, new India will go ahead with the rest of her revolutionary program with a great social and economic upsurge at the bottom of all."

"One of the strongest expressions of India's disapproval is being exhibited, in the opinion of the correspondent, with regard to the new Indian Act, the provisions of which will go into operation shortly.

"A few years ago, when the new reforms were given, the Indian leaders, while disappointed, were willing to enter the new legislative councils to

co-operate with Great Britain. Early this year, when the Hunter Committee refused to punish persons responsible for the Amritsar shooting, later being replaced almost overnight, the old spirit of suspicion has come back. The new reforms will be overthrown by a flood of unrest which is already sweeping all India."

"Anger-filled bitterness is growing, the national spirit is gaining strength, and general unrest is manifested everywhere, giving evidence that the entire scheme of the new Reforms has failed to touch the popular imagination."

The great strength of the movement for non-cooperation lies in the fact that the unity between Moslems and Hindus is stronger than ever before in India's history. A prominent Moslem leader and the Telugu correspondent:

"For 120 years we have been the victims of the old British game of divide and rule. We have fought the Hindus always, but now we know better. We are solidly united with them now for salvation. We will never quarrel again."

"It is this unity which will ultimately make for the success of the 'non-cooperation' movement. This, and the fact that the movement has been taken up by the masses of the people, is the most hopeful aspect of the situation."

"Until recently the national movement was entirely controlled by educated and conservative men," writes the correspondent, "but now the common man, who knows his limits, has the whip hand. Next the most

masses and advanced peasants will share their power."

Outside India, the situation, as summed up by the correspondent, is equally serious. "In Mesopotamia, the British are fighting the native population and have been at war with them since last winter. In Persia, British influence is threatened by the Russian troops. On the Afghan border, a state of armed watchfulness exists. Cooperation between the Afghans and the Bolsheviks has been noted."

Since the Indian National Congress in September last voted no longer to cooperate with the British government, one of the most remarkable national movements in the history of peoples has developed according to other reports from London. Less than a year ago the Vicerey of India wrote to Lord Minto a message to be delivered to the House of Lords in which he said

"...those which formerly had been largely subterranean and invisible are now covering the country with a flood which it is impossible for us to stem, even if we wished to do so.... What lies behind and below the whole of the political difficulties in India is a spirit of Nationalism, nurtured by our methods and examples, a spirit held in the soil and spreading rapidly through all ranks and classes of Indian society. It penetrates the professional classes, with whom it is tinged. It is also going deep into the trade and mercantile classes and is spreading to the land classes. It is an open secret that most of the progressive and enlightened classes of India are deeply in sympathy with all that is best in the Nationalist movement."

As to the attitude of the British in India, a correspondent of the *Moskva Gazette* recently said

"Residence in India seems incompatible with a Democratic outlook."

The British in India do not think at the Indians to follow subjects. They unscrupulously assume the cheapness of Indian labor. It seems to them natural and fitting that hundreds of Indian lives should be taken in service for one English life.... To suggest that the Rev. of Jallianwala (General Dyer, who was responsible for the Amritsar massacre) was not a public benefactor, and the reverse of India was to court popular dissatisfaction from every club and general assembly."

"A. feeling of uncertainty prevails throughout India. Not since the Mutiny days has the majority of the persons in India been more restlessly restless. He runs from himself, but he is slightly nervous when he realizes that his wife and children are frequently unsecured and alone, send pictures, postcard reminders and all the memento material of the Indian home."

"Fortunately for his peace of mind he does not realize the violence or perniciousness of the attack (anti-British propaganda). The vernacular press has become a powerful factor in the public life of India. Every village has its subscribers to popular anti-Government papers. The village masses read these aloud to the literates, and even schoolboys have to denounce the disclosed efforts of the British after rulers in worthless religion and liberty! The British effort in every sphere is now everywhere looked on as

a villain, foregather, a heartless chapter who is bent to tyrannize over a helpless people, and is opposed to every legitimate

attempt at progress and enlightenment. Never a word is based on the other side."

India and Japan*

By Dr. Sankaranarayana Rao,

Professor in the State University of Poona.

Although technological institutes and agricultural and industrial schools are a prime necessity in the economic uplift of any country, there is as yet no adequate provision for the training of those in India that India possessed, like Japan, a national government free to rule its economy, the situation would have been very different. Fifty years ago Japan was industrially no better than India. As that time Japan was a traditional agricultural country with a strong aversion for trade and commerce. The nation was sharply divided into many classes and subclASSES of which the Samurais, the warrior class, was the most powerful factor. With the advent of Commodore Perry Japan turned over a new leaf. The Japanese government decided to make Japan the leading industrial country of the Orient. And how did the Japanese government go about it? Japan had no modern industrial experience. It was entirely without models for organization, without financial stability, and without the idea of joint-stock enterprise. At this juncture the government took hold of the situation. It established schools and colleges, where all branches of applied science

were taught. There were "political courses," writes Baron Kikuchi in his interesting article on Japan in *The Encyclopedic Britannica*, "into the domains of silkworms, steam-boiling, cotton and silkworming, brick burning, printing and bookbinding, soap-boiling, type-setting and ceramic decoration." Domestic industries were also organized, and specimens of the country's products and manufactures were sent under government auspices to exhibitions abroad. On the other hand, the effect of this new departure along Western lines could not but be regressive to the old domestic industries of the country, especially to those which owed their existence to taxes and traditions now regarded as obsolete. Here again the government came to the rescue by establishing a firm whose functions were to familiarize foreign markets with the products of Japanese industry, and to estimate an adequate likely to appeal to Occidental taste. Steps were also taken for training money at interest, and the government printing houses on the example of employing female labor, an innovation which soon developed into large dimensions. In short, the authorities applied themselves to educate an industrial democracy throughout the country, and as soon as success seemed

*From an article in "Young India" written in 1927.

to be in sight, they gradually transferred these offices to private direction the various model enterprises, retaining only such as were required to supply the needs of the State.

The result of all this effort was that whereas at the beginning of the Meiji era, 1867, Japan had virtually no industry worth at the name, she possessed in 1890—that is to say, after an interval of twenty-three years of effort—no less than 4,000 industrial and commercial companies, joint stock

or partnership, with a total capital of two hundred million dollars.

Is it surprising that Japan today is the most prosperous industrial country of Asia? Is there any room for doubt that if India had possessed a national government of its own like that of Japan, Hindooon, too, with her boundless natural resources and almost unlimited labor supply, would have prospered as well as, if not better than, Japan?

Reorganizing India's Military Strength

England's present policy in Mesopotamia, and her use of Indian troops in the Middle East campaign are but part of an elaborate plan to assert India's own power in the British Imperial forces. This plan is revealed in the report just published of the recommendations of the India Committee, appointed to investigate and report on the reorganization of the Indian army. The Committee's recommendations, it carried out, would virtually place India's own power and mobility at the mercy of a contemplated Military Council in England, and would be available for use not only in India but in the Near and Middle East. Considering India's present strength, the scheme presents grave danger to the entire Middle East, including Turkey, Anatolia, Persia, Central Asia, Afghanistan, etc. The idea of reorganizing India's forces will be regarded as India as nothing short of a definite step toward new conquests and annexations by the British Empire on the Asian continent. The report clearly says:

"The political machinery created by the Poona Treaty has enhanced the importance of the army to India relatively to the military forces in other parts of the Empire, and more particularly those of the British Isles. The war has left Eastern Europe, and what is commonly called the Near and Middle East, in a condition of grave unrest, with consequences to India, especially as regards her military and financial resources, that we are unable to ignore."

"It is therefore necessary to recognize that the responsibility of the Indian army is greatly widened and it can no longer be regarded as a local force whose sphere of activity is limited to India and the surrounding frontier territories. It must rather be treated as a part of an Imperial Army ready to give service in any part of the world. It follows that the organization of an auxiliary service should, if sufficient time be available, conform closely to that of the rest of the Empire."

The center of gravity of military operations has shifted from West to East and in the future we must contemplate the possibility of our armies operating in the Middle East, based partly on India and partly on bases (England)."

To this end the Committee proposes a plan whereby the chief of the Imperial General Staff will be the sole adviser of the Military Department, of the Secretary of State for India's office, and his plans and policies will be carried out over the districts or the wider areas of either the Viceroys of India or the Secretary of State for India in London. The plan proposed includes also the division of India into fourteen military districts, which will each be under the subordinate command of a military officer, fully acquainted with local conditions and

ready to grapple with any situation that may arise.

The policy of the British Government since the annexation, in securing the mandate over Mesopotamia and signing a treaty with Persia, has been given added strength by the proposed militarization of India and power for imperial purposes in Asian territories. The effect of the report on India will be to add fuel to the flame of unrest which already envelopes the country. Following the decision of the Indian National Congress at its special session on September 4th, committees are being organized throughout India to carry into practice the provisions of the boycott plan against the British Indian Government. Among the provisions is one for the withdrawal of labor and military strength from the Imperial campaigns.

Meredith Townsend on Non-Co-operation

Many years ago Mr. Meredith Townsend, a distinguished Englishman who recently knew India well, wrote as follows:

"The English think that they will rule India for many centuries to come. I do not think so. Looking rather the older belief that the sun will rise in a day will disappear in a night. . . . Above all the inexcusable curse of humanity governing all, protecting all, using all, must when we call the 'Empire' a possession of less than 100,000,000, partly chosen by evolution, who are not to govern and who protect themselves by feeding fat for

a minute white division of 50,000 men, one-fifth of the Indian legions, through the means to be controlled are above the empire and that governs it the 'Indian Empire.' There is nothing else. British, less than 1,200 men in India and deport the darker portions as red, and the empire has ended, the strongest disappears and broken India emerges unchanged and unchanged. To support the official world and its government—such, needless to say, those of Belgium—there is except Indian opinion, absolutely nothing. Not only is there no white color, but there is no white race who proposes

to remain. There are no white servants, nor cross grooms, no white postillions, no white porters, no white anything. If the horses once struck for a week the Empire would collapse like a house of cards, and every riding man would be a starving passenger in his own house. He could not even feed himself or get water."

This picture, drawn many years ago, is lucid and sensational. In one or two particulars it does not quite correctly portray the India of today. It represents the number of the British rulers of India (the *babusocracy*) as too small, and the strength of the military forces kept to hold the people down as less than it is at present. The name with which the "Indian Empire" could be overthrown by a division of the British partition is probably exaggerated. And yet, who that really knows India can doubt that Mr. Townsend's static facts—lack, ugly and alarming enough when he wrote them, but far more so now. Not one of the Indian Nationalists, not Mr. Gandhi, nor the most ultra "extremist" has made such a strong statement, has pointed so vividly, as resistor, as abomination, shall we not say to that, a picture

India Held by Terrorism

Probably most Americans have already believed that England is in India with the consent of the Indian people and for their benefit. It has been upon this ground that we have been able to recruit supporters for the thought of a great modified nation, such as India is, being under Foreign

classifications. But at least we have been finding out how *greedy* machines we have been.

For nearly a year Great Britain has actually been attacking, reducing utterly, that so far from being wanted in India, the only way she can keep her place there is by force.

YOUNG TESLA

brightest as any produced by any power in the world. Let us see just what are the facts.

The decision of the Jallianwala Massacre has gone and of all the Punjab martial law necessary accompanying it, put forth by the British officials in India and by the whole responsible party in England from the first has been, and still is, that those shocking proceedings were necessary on the part of the government in order to prevent a revolution. In other words, the decision was and is officially made in the world that there was a plot in the Punjab and beyond in throughout the British government in India, a plot as deep and as serious that nothing short of horrors making doot of a great disaster exhibition of legallessness on the part of the authorities, nothing short of even power and military carried to the length that General Dyer and others carried it, of bombing villages, and dispersing assemblies by mowing down unarmed men, women and children by the hundred, could ever save the people and prevent the great.

In considering this declaration what is to be said? First, so far as can be ascertained, there was no resolution at all, and no sign of a resolution. From no source whatever has there been produced any real evidence of a plot to overthrow the Government. This is the verdict of the minority report (the last issued) of the Hunter Investigating Committee, and this is the unanimous verdict of the Indian National Congress Committee, whose investigations were of the most thorough and reliable character possible. The sign that there was any

such revolutionary plots seem to have had no wings solely in the excited imagination and nervous fears of officials, clerks and military, who had long tyrannised over the people and who had long made wild, apprehensive (or shall we say *stomach-ache-trembly*) and unwillingly by the creatures and instruments they had recruited.

From the first the British officials have seemed to feel themselves driven to cling to this idea of a revolutionary plot in face of the evidence against it, because they have been able to find no other possible line of defense for their conduct. If there was no danger of revolution, of course nobody, unless he were a dreamer, *might* possibly think of trying to partly what was done by the British officials and soldiers in the French and elsewhere.

Even if we grant all that the English imperatives and the officials in India claim, namely the existence of a servileocracy plus to play, wide-spread and formidable as an threat to overthrow the government and drive the British from the country, that does not make the British case any better, it makes it actually worse, for it shows how utterly unjustifyable is the presence of the British Government in India at all. The only shadow of justification that Randolph has for being in India is that she is there for the good of the Indian people and with their consent and desire. But if the people, masses, of wanting her there, hate her, and in order to drive her out, are willing to risk the horrors of a Bloody revolution, and if the only way that she can stay is by force and terrorism, then where is her justification for being there? She has none. On the basis

and her own plan that there was a deeply organized revolt ready to break out to drive her from the land, the only action on her part possible for a moment was preparation to leave—the inauguration of plans at once to set up a stable government composed of the responsible and trusted leaders of the Indian people and her departure to her distant British home not to return. He man and no devil, even imagined a blander procedure than that of her nation leaving the rule upon another by such terrorism and such wholesale sacrifice of innocent human lives as the world has witnessed in India during the past two years. And yet if we are to accept the declaration of Englishmen over officials that is the only way by which she can rule in India. Such then as brief is the situation. It leaves the question open as to whether in all history did any government ever sustain itself so rapidly and finally as the British Government in India has done by thus declaring (as far as going) to the world

New York and Amritsar Disasters— A Comparison

About the middle of last month a shocking tragedy occurred in New York City. On Wednesday, September 15, at noon, without any warning, a bomb—secretly placed there purposefully, with the intent of destroying human life and property—was exploded in Wall Street, killing a considerable number of persons and wounding a much larger number. The whole city, and we may almost say the whole nation, was indignant and stu-

raged at what was universally perceived as a foul and dastardly crime.

To present a comparison with India, that startling event in New York can hardly fail to suggest an event still more startling, and more shocking, which took place at the city of Amritsar, a large city of the Punjab, a Province in the northeast of India, in April of last year. The world has already heard much, and is likely to hear still more, of that tragedy, in which

that it has been compelled to commit the Jallianwala horror and all the other horrors that went with it in order to exist. Under such circumstances what right has it to exist? Has not in this shocking conclusion that these horrors have been found necessary, the most convincing evidence possible that England has no justification whatever for remaining in India a single day longer than is necessary to prepare for her orderly and safe withdrawal, that her longer domination there by the power of the sword will be the blight of others, and that at the very earliest practicable date she is bound by every principle of honor and justice to grant to the Indian people that self-government which they so earnestly desire, which for 3000 years before the coming of the British they enjoyed, and for which they are as much better fitted than the British or any foreign nation can be to rule them, and which is their inalienable right?

1. Here in New York the persons killed or injured were all believed to be innocent. There is every reason to believe that those suffering in India were all equally innocent also.

2. Here the destruction came without warning. There it was also without warning.

3. Here the people upon whom the colony fell were carrying on their peaceful daily business. There the victims were assembled as a great popular religious gathering.

4. Here the persons destroyed or injured were nearly all men and women. There they were men, women and children.

5. Here the number killed was 15, and the number wounded about 300. There the number killed was at least 300, and, according to the Report of the Indian National Congress, at was 1,200, and the number of wounded was at least 3,000.

6. Here the slaughter was probably the work of an unknown group, or at some conjecture, was probably due to explosion of a number of charges. There it was perpetrated by the deliberate command of a British General who ordered a body of troops armed with the most impious guns to pour their fire into a great concourse of unarmed

people assembled in a small park for religious purposes and to witness their murderous fire until their ammunition was exhausted and the ranks from the park were blocked up with the dead and the dying.

7. Here as soon as the terrible carnage took place, the victims were cared for as far as the earliest possible way and at the earliest possible moment. Physicians, nurses, and ambulances were rushed to the scene and in an amazingly short time every sufferer was in a hospital or elsewhere receiving the very best aid that medical or surgical skill could render. There, in Amritsar, the General and his troops, who perpetrated the massacre and who therefore were wholly responsible, left all the vast mass of their dead and wounded where they fell, making no provision whatever for them, not laying a single body, not removing even a single one of the wounded women and children to a hospital, or even administering first aid to a single sufferer. There still, the General, who had commanded not only of his troops but of the city, actually proclaimed a savage curfew under which prevented his friends and relatives of the victims from coming to their succor until the next day, so that some of the sufferers lay in their blood and pain 27 hours before they received any attention.

8. One more item of comparison. Here, in New York, the crime committed was no sooner done than the united police and executive forces of the city, the state and the national government were put at work under the strictest orders, to use every means in their power to discover and to bring to punishment the perpetrators. There, in India, the crime—the massacre—

was no sooner committed than the governors of the Punjab and of India set to work by every means in their power to shield from punishment every person, military and civil, in any way responsible for the inexpressibly horrible deed that had been done. Seventeen months have now passed, and, so far as information can be obtained, the only person who has received any punishment at all, or is likely to receive any, is the General, upon whom has been inflicted—what penalty? That of retirement from active service on a fat pension!

This absolutely accurate and careful

comparison illustrates the difference between the way in which crime is dealt with in India—when committed by British official—and the way in which it is dealt with in this country. It illustrates the difference between British justice and humanity in India, and justice and humanity as they are understood and practised in America.

In the light of the above comparison, and when it is remembered that this Amritsar atrocity does not stand alone, but is only the worst in an extended and dark series of atrocities and tyrannies, need the world wonder that India is not satisfied with British rule?

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